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December 29, 1960

Dear Mr. Burke:

Thank you for your communication of December 14, 1960, enclosing a letter from Mr. Parker Richards of Brockton, Massachusetts. Mr. Richards refers to an earlier letter which he wrote to the Secretary of State.

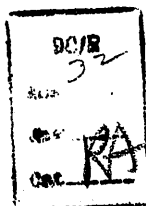
The Department has answered Mr. Richards' previous letter. I am sending you a copy of our reply, and I am returning his letter for your files. If I may be of any further assistance to you, please do not hesitate to call on me.

Sincerely yours,

William B. Macomber, Jr.
Assistant Secretary

Enclosures:

- ✓1. From Mr. Richards
- 2. To Mr. Richards.



The Honorable
James A. Burke,
House of Representatives.

P/OPS:AJLaemmerzah1:cjf:DP P H

12-28-60

S/S-CR

DEC 28 1960 PM
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611.98/12-1460

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Authority NND 949570
By GPO NARA Date 8/4/00

ACTION
is assigned to

P

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, D. C.

Dec 14 1960

Sir:

The attached communication
is sent for your consideration.
Please investigate the statements
contained therein and forward me
the necessary information for re-
ply, returning the enclosed corre-
spondence with your answer.

Yours truly,

James A. Burke
M. C.
13 Marx Dist

drafted
12-22-60
PUBLIC SERVICES DIV.
DEC 22 11 57 AM '60
DEC 21 10 04 AM '60

JAN - 6 1961

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611.48/12-1460

better and enclosures, if any.
Microfilm of LMR

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By *CD* NARA Date *8/4/00*

Air Pouch PRIORITY		CONFIDENTIAL (Security Classification)		DO NOT TYPE IN THIS SPACE 6 11. 98/12-2060 File with other material DEC 23 1960	
FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH					
FROM :	Amembassy DJAKARTA	468 DESP. NO.		December 20, 1960	
TO :	THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON.				
REF :	CG-324	1-9-61			
ACTION		DEPT.			
For Dept. Use Only		IN F OTHER			
REC'D		CIA-R-2 FE-4 INR-7 VO-1			
1-9-61		CIA-D NSA-2			

SUBJECT: Transmittal of Photographs for Possible Use in Refutation of Allegations United States Prestige is Dropping

As requested by the referenced instruction, the Embassy encloses four prints showing Indonesians applying for United States visits, together with negatives. Normally visa applicants do not appear at the Consular Section in crowds. The members of the pictured group all belong to a dance troupe and ships' crew connected with the Indonesian Floating Fair which departed for Honolulu on December 19. It is not recommended that these pictures be included in material to be disseminated in Indonesia.

For the Ambassador:

Rolland H. Bushner
Rolland H. Bushner
Counselor of Embassy for Political Affairs

Enclosures:

As stated. *attch*
(10H)
Action Taken *Referred to Mr. Renshard*
Date of Action *1-27-61*
Action *SCA/EX*
Signature of Action Officer
Beltow O. Bryan
Filing Instructions *To Mr. Renshard*
to be kept with other material on same subject
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
SCA
JAN 10 1961
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FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH		PA 1/11.98/12-2060		1-18-61	
FROM :	Amembassy DJAKARTA	Action Assigned to		465	
TO :	THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON.	Action Taken		December 20, 1960	
REF :	CERP Section D-I-A-5	noted		DEC 23 1960	
9 For Dept. Use Only	ACTION FE-4 REC'D 1-5-61	DEPT. IN OTHER CIA-10	IN OTHER CIA-10	IN OTHER CIA-10	IN OTHER CIA-10
SUBJECT: Comments by an Indonesian Official on "Inadequacies" of US Propaganda. NSA-2					

In a conversation recently with the reporting officer, Mr. Sudojo, of the Foreign Aid Branch of the Economic Directorate of the GOI Department of Foreign Affairs, stated at some length that he thought the United States did not understand or perhaps discounted the importance of propaganda. He said that his understanding was that in regard to aid for example the US was not interested in massive projects or in the extension of broad lines of credits, such as those extended by the Bloc. Sudojo felt that the US believed that the Bloc approach was essentially uneconomic or somehow unworthy of the United States because Americans seemed to feel that the Bloc approach was too blatantly propagandistic. Sudojo went on to say that if his analysis of American policy or American thinking was correct, the American approach was wrong, particularly in Indonesia.

In Indonesia, he continued, the sheer magnitude of the sums of money offered by the Bloc, and the glamour and appeal of projects the money is supposed to be devoted to, tended to overshadow US aid. Sudojo did not deny that US aid might be more feasible or important from an economic point of view, but he stated, sardonically, that the question of economic feasibility was not a factor that impressed the average Indonesian. He added that US aid was being ignored or at best being taken for granted because of the mass and glitter of Bloc propaganda.

Sudojo shifted the conversation at this point to the recent Soviet Industrial Fair held in Djakarta. He stated that he and other Indonesians of his class knew that the Soviet goods and machines displayed were ten or more years behind similar US goods. However, he continued, the million or so Indonesians who visited the Fair probably did not realize this. To them the Fair was probably demonstrative, he thought, of the fact that the USSR was a mighty industrial nation, probably the mightiest in the world. Shaking his finger, he said, "If the United States is not willing to give these people, who do not know any better, a chance to make a comparison which would show them the state of industrial progress in your nation can you blame them if they feel that the USSR is the wave of the future?"

Finally, Sudojo discussed the problem of language. He said that he knew many of the US Embassy officers spoke Indonesian; he knew that many wives and staff personnel also spoke Indonesian or at least were trying to learn; but he continued most Indonesians remember the situation some years back when "few" Americans knew the language or appeared to be interested in learning. Therefore, the popular conception is that few if any Americans speak Indonesian, whereas the Russians spare no effort to call attention in all the situations they find themselves to the "fact" that they

RD Palmer
RD Palmer:afh
REPORTER

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Page 2 of
Encl. No. _____
Desp. No. 465
From Djakarta

and "everybody else" in their representation speak Indonesian. Sudojo said that he knew personally that this was not true, but because of repetition it had become to be a popular belief that in fact all Russians in Indonesia spoke Indonesian. He ended his remarks by commenting wryly: "You Americans are such Puritans, it is possible to be too modest, you know."

COMMENT: The reporting officer believes that Sudojo's comments were meant as constructive criticism. He gave no evidence of anti-American sentiment. On the contrary ~~as a result of an assignment to the United States in the early "Eighties"~~ he seems basically friendly toward the United States.

For the Ambassador:

M. R. Rutherford
M. R. Rutherford
First Secretary of Embassy

Clearance:

POL RHB

USIS - MR. THOMAS FLANAGAN Rip

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INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

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37-31

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Action

Classification

Control: 13554

FE

Rec'd: December 24, 1960
8:33 a.m.

Info

FROM: Djakarta

SS

TO: Secretary of State

G

SP

NO: 1838, December 23, 4 p.m. (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

C

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PRIORITY

OCB

INR

CIA

SENT DEPARTMENT 1838, CINCPAC 244.

NSA

OSD

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

ARMY

NAVY

Department's circular telegram 879.

AIR

RMR

Last five years characterized by new phase of Indo anti-colonial revolution in which Sukarno has diverted revolutionary forces into intensive drive to substitute "guided" socialist state for liberal capitalism and liberal democracy at home while seeking role of world leadership among uncommitted nations in international field.

Most of these efforts have been received coldly or with open hostility by Western nations, including US, although US has consistently made far greater efforts than any other nation in free world to accommodate its own interests to those of Indonesia.

Nevertheless, at beginning of period US was in almost monopoly position in field of assistance to and collaboration with Indonesians, whereas today Soviet Union has raised sharp challenge with offers of both economic and military assistance which beginning overshadow all such US aid to date. Result is overwhelming temptation to Indonesians to play one against other.

In domestic field PKI has grown from unknown quantity to position one half of sharply polarized political balance between leftists and army, with Sukarno attempting maintain this balance

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Authority NND 949570
By NARA Date 8/4/00

SECRET

-2- 1838, December 23, 4 p.m., from Djakarta (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

in own interest. This is product of tumultuous, sometimes violent, struggle for political power which has achieved a kind of uneasy stability through failure of all of Sukarno's potential rival, i.e. religious parties, rebel movements, democratic institutions, save two remaining forces of army and PKI which continue jockeying for most favorable vantage point prior final showdown.

Throughout period heterogeneous island civilization had been held together by a combination of Sukarno's powerful grip on loyalty of people, national drive to "complete revolution" against Dutch colonialism by obtaining sovereignty over WNG, last segment of Netherlands East Indies to be held by Dutch, and stimulus of anti-colonial passions unloosed after more than 350 years of subjugation to West. This national effort and posture has had unreserved political support only from fellow Afro-Asian nations and the Soviet bloc. From the latter political support is now being supplemented by massive economic and military assistance with no apparent strings.

Sukarno's ideas of social justice have led the country down paths which have made little economic sense, which have resulted in a steady deterioration of the economy, at least until very recently, and which have met with a reception from the West equally cool to that accorded his political policies. At the same time Sukarno socialism has found a warm welcome from the Soviet bloc abroad, fervent support from the PKI at home. Seizure of Dutch assets with only vague prospect of compensation, for example, had both political and economic motivation, but again this action was heartily supported by Communists everywhere. From the West came hostile reactions ranging from threatening Dutch posture to stern lecture from US.

In his effort to achieve position of world leadership, Sukarno is driven by not only personal vanity which is boundless but by genuine belief in destiny of Indonesian people as force for peace in world. Again he is encouraged in his dreams by USSR and Communists; snubbed by the West. This dream took form five

years

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-3- 1838, December 23, 4 p.m., from Djakarta (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

years ago when Sukarno played host to first Afro-Asian conference followed by first of his now annual visits to world capitals. It was then that he began actively produce concept of separate Indonesian identity, unique Indonesian contribution to world affairs.

JONES

LMS:RJT

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Action

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Control:

13578

Rec'd:

December 24, 1960

FE

9:19 a.m.

Info

FROM: Djakarta

SS

TO: Secretary of State

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SP

NO: 1838, December 23, 4 p.m. (SECTION 2 of 2)

C

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PRIORITY

OCB

SENT DEPARTMENT 1838, CINCPAC 244.

INR

CIA

NSA

OSD

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AIR

RMR

It has become increasingly apparent, particularly following almost simultaneous refusal US President accept Sukarno's repeated invitations, that little prospect existed of US reconciling its policies to those of Sukarno. Consequently, US has been left with reduced maneuver room in achieving its major policy objective of keeping Indo. free from Communist domination. Available non-military courses of action appear limited to:

1. To seek out and work with forces having some capability of limiting Sukarno's freedom of action and able to some degree to compel him to adopt policies comparable with those of the US (this has fairly well shaken down during five-year period to Indo army.)
2. To provide sufficient economic and military aid to further No. 1 above.
3. To force settlement of West New Guinea question sufficiently favorable to Indo to assure removal of problem from the world scene as a national issue with GOI.

Of these available courses of action first two have been pursued somewhat intermittently in the last five years but with increasing success until about the time of Khrushchev visit in early 1960. At that time, it is now clear, the Soviet Union instituted major counter-action which has been increasingly successful

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-2- 1838, December 23, 4 p.m. (SECTION 2 of 2) from Djakarta

successful.

Embassy considers that further economic aid is essential during next five years to contribute to stability of nation, helping to immunize this Moslem nation from virus of Communism; and continued military aid will be required to hold major gains we have achieved with Indo army and navy. Both of these, however, constitute essentially defensive actions designed to prevent further deterioration of the situation. Perhaps these would be enough if the Soviet Union had been content to write off Indo as lost cause. But whether we like it or not, and none of us do like it, Sukarno rules Indo today. So long as that continues to be true it is necessary to convince him that US is willing to support this major revolutionary goals before our policies can succeed.

Thus there remains only one decisive card for US to play-- resolution of the West Irian question on terms acceptable to Indo. In this area we have one unquestioned advantage over the USSR, namely, we have effective means to force a solution favorable to Indonesia while the USSR does not have such means, other than military.

Indos, including Sukarno, will go to great lengths to avoid resort to force to resolve West New Guinea issue but no one would guarantee they would not use force in next five years under goading by USSR. Should that occur, world would be confronted with situation far uglier than those with which it has previously dealt in Spain, Korea, Indo-China, Laos and elsewhere. Such a situation might well pit the Communist and Afro-Asian world against the West on an issue which tragically is unrelated to basic ideological struggle to which our full attention should be directed.

The United States yet has an opportunity to avert this development but time is running out swiftly. Once the issue has been removed

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removed from our power peacefully to influence a decision
our interests in this part of the world will be damaged
incalculably.

JONES

LRR/1

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15682

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December 30, 1960

1:57 a.m.

Info

FROM: Djakarta

SS

TO: Secretary of State

G

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NO: 1904, December 29, 4 p.m.

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According press services report, Foreign Minister expressed hope December 28 at airport prior departure for Moscow that Kennedy government would take new approach toward Far East, particularly Communist China; and Kennedy able adopt new policies since not tied to legacies previous Administration.

These remarks follow his expression at signatory ceremony PL 480 agreement December 23, hope US will understand and support completion national revolution Indonesia, including achievement Indonesia's territorial rights, political and economic aims (i.e., West New Guinea and Indonesian).

Comment: Private remarks of various Indonesians indicate each, like, Subandrio, hopes new Administration will follow policies close to those he regards as ideal. Expectations this subject suggested by expression satisfaction by Foreign Department sources that Rusk and Bowles have experience with Asia.

HENDERSON

VH:OKY

FEB 27 1 55 PM '61

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FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

FROM : **Amembassy DJAKARTA** 493
DESP. NO.
 TO : **THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON.** December 29, 1960
DATE
 REF : m/o - 1 m/o p. 1 DEC 30 1960

ACTION For Dept. <i>FE-4</i> Use Only REC'D 1/10	DEPT. IN <i>IN 11-7</i> OTHER <i>CH-10 OCB-2</i>	<i>P. 3 S/S-3 S/P-1 EUR-5</i>
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SUBJECT: **Suggestion of Anti-Communist Politician re US Treatment of Sukarno**

In a conversation with the reporting officer on December 12, 1960, Jusuf WIBISONO, an ex-Cabinet Minister who is now Chairman of the anti-Communist SBII (Muslim Trade Union Federation), inquired if the new administration elected in the United States would mean a change in American foreign policy. He indicated that he was not speaking of economic aid programs but of the question of Presidential relations with other Chiefs of State, especially Sukarno. He called attention to Louis Fisher's statement that so far as Sukarno is concerned there are two kinds of people in the world: those who are for him and those who are not. After telling a story to prove the aptness of this characterization, Wibisono remarked that the Bloc/representatives have apparently been acting on the basis of an analysis similar to Fisher's as indicated by their flattery of Sukarno. He urged that the US not leave personal relations and friendly overtures to the Soviet Bloc. He concluded this subject by urging that an early visit to Indonesia by President Kennedy would be a most effective means of influencing Sukarno.

For the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim:

Rolland H. Bushner
 Rolland H. Bushner
 Counselor of Embassy for Political Affairs

Action Assigned to *R.L.*
 Action Taken *Noted*

Jul

BUVHCH
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